1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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can be observed, it would seem, in the diffusion of tools and rational techniques from *los correctos* to *los tontos*.

The materials which can be offered here are too scanty to permit even a beginning of such a study. They are indeed inadequate to give a balanced description of all the commoner practices in connection with life-crises. But they may be offered so that the merely depictive aspect of this study may be more nearly complete, and so that the cadence of a Tepoztecan life may be at least outlined.[1]

A pregnant woman keeps largely to the seclusion of her own home. There are no important taboos on women during pregnancy. "If she suddenly wants to eat something, and cannot get it, she takes *tzaexochitl*[2] so that the child will not fall." After three months of pregnancy she goes to the *barranca* to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth.

When the time of delivery comes, she is assisted by a midwife [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors, measuring four fingers' length from the child. Then the cord is carefully tied with cotton thread which has been doubled or quadrupled and the end of the cord is burned well with a tallow candle in order that it may not bleed. Tallow from the candle is put on the thread, and the child is tied up with a band. In about three days the cord will fall off, but every day until that time fresh tallow is put on. When the cord has fallen, tallow is put on for the last time. The umbilical cord is preserved

[1] The materials on birth customs were secured by Margaret Park Redfield. They were nearly all obtained from one informant, a woman of middle age, who had borne nine children. She represents the typical *tonta;* and it is probable that what she described is characteristic of the majority of births in Tepoztlán. Information on marriage customs is much less complete; it was obtained from three informants, two *tontos* and one *correcto*. That on death customs is more complete, and probably the customs here vary little from family to family. The writer attended many funerals.

[2] *Laelium* sp. She takes an infusion of the pseudo-bulb.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

831
156 tudes toward sex and sexuality. Most of the attitudes toward sex are negative and
571 prudish and, at least superficially, in accord with Catholic tradition.

Women have a negative attitude toward bearing children. They try to keep the
842 number of pregnancies to a minimum by long nursing and by abstaining from
843 sexual intercourse. Pregnancy is commonly described as "being ill with child,"
853 and pregnant women are embarrassed by their condition and make every attempt
893 to conceal it. There is an absence of sexual play between husbands and wives;
many women refer to the sex act as "the abuse by the man," and the genitals are
generally considered ugly or dirty. There is a widespread belief among adolescent
584 girls that sexual intercourse is painful. Open courtship is not sanctioned, and
562 girls are severely punished for having any relations with boys. The existence of the
double standard and the greater personal freedom of boys and men tend to en-
courage male sexuality. Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown;
romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken. Court-
584 ship is an intriguing, exciting pastime but it is always cautious, seldom impulsive
or passionate.

783 It cannot be said, however, that Tepoztecans are puritanical, nor are they
burdened with feelings of guilt or concepts of sexuality as something sinful.[4]
Rather, Tepoztecans place greater value upon sexual restraint than upon sexual
activity; just as they do not encourage emotional expressiveness, so do they not
encourage active sexuality. Adult sexual activity is discouraged, not so much for
reasons of morality but for practical reasons of safety. Parents fear that a young
son may make an undesirable attachment with a widow or a dangerous attach-
ment with a married woman, or he may be bewitched by a jealous sweetheart;
they fear even more strongly that their daughter will lose her good reputation and
the chance of a respectable marriage. Women are generally reluctant to have
sexual relations, because of unwanted pregnancies; men discourage sexuality in
837 their wives for fear of being humiliated by the wife's unfaithfulness; wives fear
the loss of income and the poor treatment which inevitably attend their husband's
extramarital alliances.

626
831 While there is much gossip, there is no ostracism or public denouncement or
persecution of those who are guilty of sexual indiscretion. The couple living in
588 free union is unmolested, the promiscuous widow maintains her usual relations
848 with neighbors and kin, the illegitimate child is given a similar if not entirely
equal position in his mother's household and may receive aid and inheritance

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273 [4] The relative absence of guilt feelings can also be seen in the reactions to stealing and drink-
685 ing. Drinking is not considered bad in itself, but may be criticized because it takes a man away
from his work and takes money which may be sorely needed for other purposes. Stealing is
quite frequent and may be severely punished, but it is detection rather than the act itself which
is disturbing. In case histories, informants frequently refer to little stealing episodes without
837 any manifestation of remorse or guilt, but emphasize how ashamed they were when discovered.
Men do not appear to have guilt in promiscuous sexual relations with women or in deceiving
848 young girls. Rather, they are proud of these feats and consider any conquest to their credit.
There is also practically no sense of moral responsibility toward children born out of wedlock.

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mothers when they first menstruate, nor do they seek information concerning pregnancy, birth, or marriage. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she will consult a friend or *curandero* as to what to do. Even after marriage, the girl informs her mother-in-law rather than her mother of her pregnancy, and the mother takes an active role as adviser or assistant only if there is no mother-in-law to do so.

Mother-daughter relations are almost severed when the girl marries, particularly if the girl lives with her mother-in-law for several years. It is common for mothers to weep at a daughter's marriage because they are "losing her," and they miss her for a long time.

When a married daughter leaves her mother-in-law's home to live alone, close relations with her mother are generally resumed. Women do not expect financial assistance in their old age from their married daughters because it is "up to the son-in-law." But many married daughters help their mothers with money and corn without the knowledge of their husbands.

SIBLINGS

If the mother-child relationship is the strongest bond in Tepoztlán, that between siblings ranks next. Sibling solidarity is an ideal which parents try to instill in their children. "Take care of him, he is your brother" is often repeated. Nevertheless, sibling relations are often poor, especially in adulthood, and Tepoztecans themselves recognize the sharp gap between theory and practice. The ties between siblings are closest in childhood. Up to about age five or six, siblings are constant companions, and their relationship is but little affected by the differences in sex. Later, sex status becomes much more important, as the sister begins to identify with the mother and her work, and the brother with the father.

An older sister has a special role in caring for her younger siblings and often shows affection and devotion in bringing up the children. But some of the older daughters are rejecting this role in favor of continuing their education. Older brothers have a preferred status in the family and can demand respect and obedience from younger brothers and sisters. In the absence of the parents they take on the role of the father and may discipline their younger siblings. Even after marriage, younger siblings are expected to consult with the older brother about important decisions. But this pattern is rapidly disappearing.

The authority of older siblings over younger is tempered somewhat by the parents' insistence that the older sibling protect and even defer to the younger child. If a young child wants something belonging to an older brother or sister, the parents see to it that he receives it. If an older child is sitting in a chair wanted by a three-year-old, the older child is told to get up and give it to him. In one family a ten-year-old boy, who complained to his parents that his six-year-old brother woke up at night to steal his marbles, was told not to be selfish and to let the younger one have them. When two children quarrel, the older one is automatically blamed because "he is older and should know better," or both children are punished without the parents inquiring into the situation. It is significant that older children never

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Abor-
842 tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women
[847] take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife
[593] relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking
[586] medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel
[582] ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure
[581] from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who be-
[851] come more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a
[562] child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de*
[843] *familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the
[462] care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given
[594] as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward
155 sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results
864 in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 *PREGNANCY*

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child."
[843] Sterility (*yomitztli*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages
[171]

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.

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with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *rebozo* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in-law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

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843 759 Care during pregnancy consists principally of massages of the abdomen by the midwife. The general purpose of the massage is to make the birth easier and to determine the position of the fetus. Midwives say they can change the position of the fetus if necessary by means of massage. Faith in the importance of massage is widespread, and there are few who do not take massages regularly. Newly married women often begin to take massages during the second or third month, but others do not begin until they feel movement. Since there is an additional charge of fifty [465] centavos (in 1943, the price ranged from twelve to twenty-five centavos) for each massage, there are many women who cannot afford to take them until the eighth or ninth month. Sometimes the husband will object to the number of massages his wife takes, and there may be quarrels. Massages are given every eight or fifteen days, depending upon when they are started and what the pregnant woman can afford. The patient lies down, with knees slightly bent, and the midwife gently massages the abdomen from right to left.[4] No oils or unguents are used.

787 843 Some say they can predict the sex of the baby by its position in the womb. If it is to one side, near the hip, it will be a boy; if it is in the middle, it will be a girl. If the fetus feels round, a girl is indicated; and if it feels elongated, it is a boy. If the mother looks sleepy and if her face is white, the child will be a boy, because boys are more "demanding" and make their mothers pale. If she is red-cheeked, the child will be a girl. However, some informants believe just the opposite and say that red cheeks indicate a boy because boys are more robust. If the mother becomes fatter all around, including the hips, it will be a girl; if she protrudes only in front, it will be a boy. It is also believed that a boy is born after nine months and a girl after eight months.

843 The midwife advises the pregnant woman concerning self-care. She is not to lift heavy objects but should continue to work because it makes the delivery easier. It is believed that a woman who is lazy and who sleeps often during pregnancy will have a difficult birth because the fetus adheres to the womb. Pregnant women [825] should not urinate where an animal has just urinated because the rising steam may cause inflammation of the womb. Pregnant women are also advised not to bathe 515 in the stream, since *los aires* may endanger the baby and cause it to be born with 843 physical defects.[5] It is also said that bathing in the stream may cause the pregnant [296] woman to fill up with water. Although pregnant women sometimes continue to use the stream to wash clothes, this also is considered unwise. Some say that pregnant women should not bathe more than once a week for fear of catching cold, but many women bathe every three days in warm or cold water, according to preference.

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843 759 1945. In Cherán, in 1940, the cost of delivery was from 1½ to 2½ pesos. See Ralph L. Beals, *Cherán, A Sierra Tarascan Village*, Institute of Social Anthropology Publ. No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), p. 166.

465 171 [4] Foster describes the massage in Tzintzuntzan as "heavy pummeling" and attributes the many miscarriages to this.

[114] [5] Redfield's informant said, "After three months she [the pregnant woman] goes to the *barranca* [stream] to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth." According to our data, although some women do it, this is generally regarded as undesirable.

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There is a belief that if an eclipse occurs during a woman's pregnancy, the child will be born with some part of his body missing; that is, it will have been eaten by the moon. To prevent this the mother should wear a pair of scissors under her sash. An earthquake will also cause some physical defect in the child.

There are no diet restrictions for pregnant women. There is a widespread belief that the pregnant woman should satisfy any food whim, otherwise she may suffer a miscarriage or a premature birth, or the baby may be born with skin colorations. Many subsequent difficulties are assigned to the failure to satisfy food whims. It is the husband's obligation to provide his wife with the food she wishes. But women do not make frequent or unreasonable demands, particularly if their husbands are not "good" to them.

Women who are nauseated during the second and third months are treated with herbs which are said to decrease the water in the abdomen. Many women do not take this treatment because of the restriction in diet and movement that follows. They may not go out into the street for three days, they may not go to the fields or to the stream, they may not stand near a water jug.

There are no restrictions on sexual intercourse during pregnancy, and many continue to have intercourse up to the time of birth. No special positions are used in the last months to protect the fetus.

When there are signs of miscarriage, the midwife tries several remedies. The patient may be asked to recline on a *rebozo* or cloth and is then moved or jerked two or three times from one side to another by means of the cloth. Another remedy is to soak an old tortilla in water of *nixtamal* or vinegar and place it on the small of the back. A mixture of the following herbs is also used: *tlatlazcametl*,[6] *camotito de San Diego*,[7] and *muicle*.[8] To this some midwives add wine, chocolate, leaves of *Santa María* (*artemisa*),[9] and a gold earring to be boiled with the mixture. Miscarriages are not frequent, and when one occurs the woman is often blamed for bringing it about by carelessness.

Induced miscarriages are fairly common. But the frequent deaths in such cases deter most women, and it is said that women who try to "cure" themselves will have to account for their behavior on Judgment Day. Miscarriages are said to cause *paños* or brown discoloration of the skin, so that women who suffer from this are believed to have aborted frequently. To bring on delayed menstruation, many women drink *muicle*. Ground *chayotillos* with salt may be taken, or a tuber *aboyote* may be used. Another way is to use the same preparation which brings on labor. The ingredients are as follows: opossum tail (*tlacuache*), *pimienta gorda*, *zatalik*, and *tlatlazcametl*. Sometimes women will bring about a miscarriage by deliberately lifting heavy objects. Many women, and particularly unmarried girls, secretly go to

[6] *Montanoa tomentosa*, a very well-known plant. See Maximiano Martínez, *Las Plantas Medicinales de México* (México, D. F.: México Ediciones Botas, 1939), p. 330.

[7] Unidentified.

[8] *Jacobinia spicigera*, *ibid.*

[9] Unidentified.

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the mother may eat a greater variety of food. Most women continue to avoid black coffee and chile for one month because they "irritate." 846 [262]

When the mother has taken her last *temascal* and gets out of bed, she is usually given a boiled mixture of many herbs (*paclaposon*),[14] which she drinks before meals twice a day until two quarts are consumed. Some also take this before entering the first *temascal* and for one day thereafter. If the woman does not feel well before entering the second *temascal*, she may be given the same mixture of herbs *poslaxtli*, which are now toasted and ground rather than boiled. If bleeding has not stopped after two months, the woman is again given *paclaposon*. Strained honey is also used because it provokes more bleeding which, it is thought, brings the end of bleeding closer. A mixture of herbs similar to a mustard plaster (*vilma*) may also be placed on the back. Excessive bleeding is attributed to a weakening of the back. 846 278

After leaving her bed, the mother is supposed to sit quietly with knees doubled under and to avoid walking or moving about for as long as she can. If she must walk, she goes very slowly with her thighs close together. If this is the first child, the mother may keep this up for three months; others return to normal moving about, in from one to two months. Only the most unfortunate women, however, do heavy work, such as washing and ironing before three months. In the past, women frequently did not work for as long as six months and were considered too weak to carry the baby. The new mother is not supposed to leave the house before the *sacamiss* attended by the new mother and child, which generally takes place in forty days or after the fourth *temascal*. If the mother leaves the house before this time, the baby's godmother may refuse to attend the *sacamiss*, on the grounds that the mother is not taking proper care of herself. 846 [481] [461] [851]

COMPARISON WITH OTHER MEXICAN COMMUNITIES

Many of the practices and beliefs concerning pregnancy and birth found in Tepoztlán are widespread in rural Mexico and have been reported for at least Tarascan (Tzintzuntzan and Cherán), Mayan (Chan Kom), and Zapotecan (Mitla and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec) groups. The similarity, even in small details, is sometimes quite striking. For example, we find that in Tzintzuntzan and Mitla the satisfaction of food whims during pregnancy is important. In Tzintzuntzan and Cherán, pregnant women should not urinate where an animal has urinated, and in both these communities, as well as in Mitla and in Tehuantepec,[15] there is fear that an eclipse may deform the unborn child. In Tzintzuntzan and Tehuante- 171 843 [844]

[14] The following herbs are placed in several gallons of water and boiled for twenty-four hours, or until one quart of the liquid remains: *cuexcuaxtl, cuch-kok-kok, palmonaria, bretonica* or *ajolote, sangrinaria, culrignale* or *cola de ilacuache, lengua de zejerba, nesiiki:hiuxtl, tochakan, xoxolli, tripa de judas* or *tzacili, ilacuaxtil, mazanchi, ijuteh katiil* or *algodoncillo, cancara de cuvino, flor de piedra* or *doradillo* or *siempre viva, sakatekomatl* or *kwatekomate*, and *ilexilemaxtzinia* or *barbalio*.

[15] Miguel Covarrubias, *Mexico South, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), p. 342.

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171 [843] [847] pec, a metal object is also worn for protection during an eclipse. The use of herbs and other remedies to produce abortions is also reported for Tzintzuntzan, Cherán, Mitla, and Tehuantepec. In Chan Kom a partition is put up in the room before delivery. The use of prenatal and postnatal massage, and during delivery, is mentioned in the monographs on Tzintzuntzan, Cherán, Chan Kom, and Tehuantepec. 171 844 In Mitla the flow of blood after birth is encouraged by an herbal preparation. The application of heat during a difficult delivery is mentioned in Tzintzuntzan, Cherán, [845] and Chan Kom. Putting the mother on a blanket to hasten the birth occurs in Tzintzuntzan, Cherán, and Mitla; the inducement of vomiting for the same reason is practiced in Tzintzuntzan and Tehuantepec. In Cherán, Mitla, and Chan Kom certain drinks are given which probably result in vomiting, but this is not specifically stated by the authors.

[846] The use of sweatbaths during confinement is common in Mitla, and small infants are also sometimes so bathed. Hot tallow is dropped on the umbilicus in Tzintzuntzan and Tehuantepec, and the umbilical cord is used as a remedy for sore eyes in Mitla. In Cherán lemon juice is dropped into the infant's eyes. Finally, the burying of the after-birth under the hearth is practiced in Tzintzuntzan, Cherán, and Chan Kom. In Mitla and Tehuantepec it is buried elsewhere. In Tehuantepec the mother is bound and a "doll" is placed over the abdomen, to prevent the "matrix from falling out of place."

171 A comparison of the period of postnatal confinement, which is so important in Tepoztlán, also shows some similarity. In Tzintzuntzan and Cherán, some share 846 the widespread belief that women should not go out or resume work until after forty days. But a woman in Tzintzuntzan may sit up in bed after three days and often goes out after three weeks. In Cherán a mother stays in bed from eight to fifteen days and may leave the house after twenty days. In Mitla there is no set confinement period, but it is usually not longer than fifteen days. In Chan Kom, the mother "must stay in her hammock for a week, remain quiet for two weeks, and after three weeks she may go out into the street." [16] In Tehuantepec the midwife visits the mother in seven days, and the mother goes to *sacamisa* in forty days.

171 It is difficult to say to what extent these similarities are due to contacts between these groups before the Conquest, or to the common exposure to Spanish colonial 84 influences. A full comparison of our material on Tepoztlán with that of the foregoing groups is not always easy or possible because of the unequal coverage and treatment of the material. For the same reason, it is difficult to compare the psychological significance of practices that appear similar.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

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Most families attempt to console the child during weaning. He generally receives more attention from his mother and continues to sleep with her. However, most mothers do not carry the child during weaning because of the pain in their breasts. The child is generally carried about by others in the family, is given little toys or goodies, and is taken visiting. The child starts to eat with the family, and this is often presented to him as a compensation for the loss of the mother's milk and usually serves to divert him. Occasionally, if a child is inconsolable and cries hard for a long time, particularly at night, the mother, or more usually the father, will lose patience and spank him hard and then frighten him into silence by telling him the coyote will come to eat him. Sometimes a child will be taken to sleep at his grandmother's house for a few nights.

Illness and death are frequent in children after weaning. Often the illness or death is attributed to indigestion or *ético* (tuberculosis?), in which the child wastes away. These are associated with the changed diet of the child at weaning, and it is highly probable that these children do not receive sufficient nourishment, or are given foods unsuited to the digestive systems of young children. Many women wean *con pura tortilla*, that is, with inadequate food substitutes. These children are shifted to the diet of the adult, which consists of tortilla, beans or bean soup, rice or noodles prepared with much lard or oil, and black coffee. In some families children of two are also permitted to eat chile and various local seeds which, whether toasted or raw, are difficult to digest. The best traditional method of feeding a weaned child is to give him an *atole* of ground corn cooked in milk, if the family can afford it, or in water, and sweetened with cinnamon and brown sugar. Many women say that children never become ill if given this food daily for one, two, or six months after weaning. Today better-to-do and more acculturated families wean with a daily diet of eggs, cereals, milk, soups made of chicken or meat, and vegetables and fruit, in addition to the traditional foods. Sometimes cooked meat and bread are given to a small child, even when the rest of the family cannot afford to eat them. This diet, however, is limited to very few children.

Chipilez, or jealousy, is an important childhood illness which begins when the mother of the child again becomes pregnant.[6] The world *chipil* (jealous) is derived from the Náhuatl *tzipil* which means last or smallest one and refers to the jealousy of the youngest child toward the expected baby. It is believed that nursing children can tell from the taste of the pregnant mother's milk that a new child is coming, and the illness is due to the fact that they are now "carrying the weight of the baby," a euphemistic term for jealousy. Weaning is begun with the first display of symptoms. Children who are no longer being nursed but who still sleep with the mother are able to "sense" the coming of another child and may also become *chipil*. Young husbands are also subject to *chipilez* when their wives become pregnant for the first time. They also are "carrying the weight of the baby," since there is no other child to do so. The symptoms of *chipilez* are pain all over the

[6] This illness is well known in many parts of Mexico, including the large cities, but, to my knowledge, it has not been reported in anthropological literature.

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753 862 [843] [755] body, diarrhea, loss of appetite and weight, pallor, and weakness. In fact, almost any symptom or illness during this time is called *chipilez*. It is said that husbands become sleepy and do not want to work. A husband can be cured by wearing a strip of his wife's skirt around his neck.

In the case of children, there is no known cure, and mothers try to comfort the child with more attention. Grandmothers often advise against too much kissing and embracing of the child when he is *chipil* because it "makes the burden heavier." Indeed, the greater attention required by the sick child makes more difficult his later adjustment to the withdrawal of the mother at the birth of the next baby. It [843] is said by some that if a child is very *chipil*, the next baby will be of the opposite sex, and if the child is not very ill, the next baby will be of the same sex.

[165] Sometimes a *chipil* child dies before the birth of the next child, and several families attribute as many as four or five deaths of children to *chipilez*. From the symptoms and number of deaths, and from the obvious relation to weaning, it is highly probable that many cases of *chipilez* are due to nutritional deficiencies or intestinal parasites. Most children and all husbands recover at the birth of the new baby, for, it is said, "Tlayish qua mak awa," (the weight is lifted).

EARLY CHILDHOOD

855 The transition from infancy to childhood is characterized by the breaking of the close ties between the mother and the youngest child. This process begins at weaning and generally culminates with the birth of the next sibling. As we have seen, in this interval of from two to four months, most children become *chipil*, losing their symptoms after the birth of the baby. Other children continue to be ill, sometimes for several months or even years. This illness reflects the widespread 593 sibling rivalry which exists among children.

855 Children in Tepoztlán are not prepared for the arrival of a new sibling. When delivery is expected, the children of the house are sent to sleep with the grandmother or a relative or neighbor. When they return home the next morning they [864] are told their parents have bought a new baby, and they are shown their new brother or sister. The initial reaction of the children may be one of pleasure, curiosity, or apprehension, the latter particularly on the part of the younger children. Older girls often express displeasure, and some even scold their mothers for buying a new child because the burden of raising it usually falls upon them. A girl of thirteen said to her mother after the birth of another child, "You cannot even buy us good food or shoes. Why did you buy another child?"

855 865 Jealousy and hostility on the part of the other children, particularly the younger ones, are so common as to be considered inevitable and normal. Children often call the baby names and, if not watched, may slap, pinch, or throw him on the ground. Small children, too, scold their mother for buying the infant and beg her to return him. A mother said that her four-year-old son used to stand at the gate and call to passers-by to take away his little sister. Jealous children are often regarded with amusement by adults, but striking the infant or mother in jealousy is quickly